NATIONAL REVIEW

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March 29, 1958

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Fulton Lewis Jr.

and

Radio Free Europe

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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For the Record

Insiders believe the Chicago Tribune was influenced to oppose the Jenner Bill by the son of its chief editorial writer, who serves a Supreme Court Justice as clerk. . . . Why has the American Legion, so consistently and constructively anti-Communist, failed to come to the defense of the Jenner Bill?

Not since the death of Senator Robert A. Taft has a legislative leader wielded the control of Congress enjoyed by Lyndon Johnson. Even House Speaker Sam Rayburn, who deferred to no man in the past, now "clears it with Lyndon." . . . Some Washington observers suspect a connection between the White House announcement of Wm. F. Tompkins' resignation as Internal Security chief in the Justice Department and Judge Robert Morris' query whether the Administration was behind Mr. Tompkins' recent endorsement of Mr. Morris' two opponents in the New Jersey Senatorial race [see National Review, March 15].

India's Nehru is bitter in criticism, made privately, of the U. S. over the turn of events in neighboring Indonesia. Nehru, who does not want a Communist power on his eastern flank, charges it was U. S. funds that financed the pro-Communist elements in the country. . . . Formosa has announced an economic boycott of Japan in protest against the Tokyo-Peiping trade agreement. . . . Foreign ambassadors now consider Washington the least desirable of assignments because of the waywardness of national policy. They complain it is impossible to make responsible reports to their home governments about the U. S. position on many world problems.

The Internal Revenue Service in Washington is making an exhaustive audit of receipts and expenditures of certain national organizations which enjoy tax-exempt status. The National Education Association, the Atlantic Union Committee, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are reportedly being reviewed. . . . The Hawaiian sugar industry is girding for a long strike by Harry Bridges' Communist-controlled Longshoremen's union, which is demanding a wage-increase of twenty-five cents an hour.

The Supreme Court has refused to pass on the constitutionality of a Tallahassee ordinance requiring bus drivers to assign passengers to seats with regard to public health, safety, and distribution of weight. The NAACP had contended that the real purpose was segregation.

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The WEEK

● Reading the *Nation* the other day our hair suddenly stood on end—we were seven-eighths through a sentence in the editorial section and verily it looked as though the *Nation* had gone McCarthyite! "That the Soviet Union is to be feared by the United States is perfectly true," said the incompleted sentence. And then? And then the sentence ended, reviving our faith in the natural order: "and vice versa."

● NATIONAL REVIEW remains in John Foster Dulles' corner, and keeps on believing that his critics dislike him for precisely the wrong reason (namely, that he is *too* anti-Communist, rather than, as we sometimes fear, not quite anti-Communist enough). But for Mr. Dulles' frequent reminders, the nation would probably lose sight of the fact that the Soviet Union is not only our opponent in a cold war, but the enemy in a highly probable future hot one. His speech at the opening of the current Seato Conference is an example of the kind of performance the United States cannot today do without. The Communists, he noted, are concentrating their propaganda fire precisely on Seato, and the reason they do so is precisely that Seato stands in the way of their aggressive plans concerning Southeast Asia, so that Seato must be maintained at all costs. Which we already knew, and you already knew, but some people (whom we could mention) clearly don't know.

● Mayor Christopher of San Francisco having been disposed of, the Nixon-Knowland-Knight agreement is organizationally on the road. Governor Knight even endorsed the Republican Assembly's proposal that by use of California's initiative and referendum procedure the right-to-work issue should be submitted to the voters next November. One wonders what Knight will now do. He is most recently on record as opposing right-to-work legislation; but his Party, under the influence of Senator Knowland, will be for it. Will Governor Knight come around? Why not? Shifting positions comes easily to him, Heaven knows. Or will he remain quiet on the issue, thus giving rise to the anomalous situation of a party ticket whose principals take different positions on the major issue at stake?

● We wish for one moment to mention a few of the purely economic aspects of a government dole to the unemployed: that is, government payments that, like the emergency relief extension now under debate in Congress, are not covered by any prior contributions from wages. A dole is inflationary, for it is money without any equivalent in actual production. It is doubly inflationary in that it deflects salutary deflationary pressures. A dole creates an artificial brake against reduction in labor cost brought by competition for work; and it helps keep prices up—out of reach of consumers. That means continuing inflation, and, due to high prices, fewer sales, less production, and more unemployment.

● From a recent issue of the *Spectator*: "'Men crowded round him, patting his back and gripping his hand, and women kissed him . . . when he left . . . a crowd surged round him on the pavement outside, still cheering him and patting him on the back.' Tommy Steele be damned; *Peter Thorneycroft*. The combined efforts of my entire staff of researchers have failed to discover a precedent for a Chancellor of the Exchequer being kissed in public (and not many, I might say, for one being kissed in private; have you ever seen a picture of Mr. Gladstone?)" —All that for standing on principle and resigning from Mr. Macmillan's Government in protest against an inflationary budget. Who will be the first in America? Heaven knows there's plenty to resign about, and lots and lots of pent-up kisses in our system.

● The current issue of *Look* Magazine reports that "rumor has it [Dore] Schary gave the Roosevelt family a sizeable percentage of his take [as author and producer of *Sunrise at Campobello*—see page 309]. At their request, Schary refuses to divulge the terms." The resources of *Look* Magazine being limited, NATIONAL REVIEW has undertaken to get the figures on the Roosevelts' most recent commercialization of FDR, and here they are: On the theatrical productions and all subsidiary rights (movies, book, serialization, TV, etc.) the Roosevelt family is to get 50 per cent of Schary's royalties (which are 10 per cent of the gross), *plus* 12½ per cent of the net. If it is true, as *Look* suggests, that Mr. Schary's play marked "the birth of FDR as one of our national literary legends," then we recommend to the Internal Revenue Service that it permit the usual depletion allowance deduction on the Roosevelt legend's output. It would seem only fair, and anyone who disagrees is a Roosevelt-baiter.

● Dr. Harrison S. Brown, professor of geochemistry at the California Institute of Technology, is very busy promoting what he calls a sane nuclear policy, in the way of which stands Dr. Edward Teller. The trouble with Teller, Dr. Brown told an audience at the University of Minnesota recently, is that he has a "deep-rooted hatred of the Soviet Union which borders upon the fanatic. From this hatred there

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stems the belief that *no* agreement with the Soviet Union can be trusted and that in our modern technological age *no* inspection system can be relied upon." Sheer fanaticism.

The grand jury called to investigate the tax returns of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. has six weeks to live. Fifty-seven weeks have gone by since it was last convened to hear evidence.

● PROGRESS OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM: *New York Times,* Sunday, March 16, page one:

"Spain Curbs Rights to Halt Coal Strike"
Saturday night edition
"Franco Curbs Rights as Blow at Strikers"
Late City Edition

● From a reader—"Memo to NR: During the period when Vanguard rockets were falling all over the sands of Florida, the Eisenhower Administration and its Liberal allies in the press consistently described them as 'Navy' rockets. Now that one has been fired successfully at last, please notice how the word 'Navy' has disappeared from the news and Dr. Alan Waterman's National Science Foundation steps forward to take the bow."

● The war for literacy proceeds apace in the Dominican Republic, in Red China—and among the faculty and administrators of Columbia University, where thanks to a new editor the following sentence will yield to a revised version (in English) in next year's catalogue:

> Subject to the approval of the appropriate deans, an undergraduate student in Columbia University whose academic record has been good and who, in the final session of his candidacy for a Bachelor's degree is within twelve points of that degree may register for graduate courses with a view to offering such courses in partial fulfillment of the requirements for residence for a higher degree, provided, however, that he shall not receive graduate credit in excess of the difference between fifteen points and the number of points that he needed to fulfill the requirements for his Bachelor's degree at the beginning of such session.

● The Bristol Township School Board thought and thought about a fitting name for Levittown's first high school; and then it came: Why not the J. Robert Oppenheimer High School? True, Dr. Oppenheimer did not *fully* qualify: he has not been victimized by a congressional committee, but one cannot deny that he *was* refused security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission, which is surely the next best thing. As for us, we protest. Dr. Oppenheimer is too brilliant a man to have a contemporary American high school named after him.

● The Irish people, in their happy way, are gloomy about their economic plight. It is widely assumed that before the century is out, economic conditions will have depopulated the land. But recently a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* encountered an Irishman who reasons that there is nothing to fear, not even fear itself. July 1958 will be the turning point. In that month the first wave of Irishmen who emigrated to Great Britain after the war will be eligible, under 1948 state welfare acts, to receive pensions. It is a foregone conclusion that no one who has seen Ireland can be persuaded to retire in England. So that beginning in that fateful month, a great re-immigration will start, and Ireland's economy will be sustained by the British welfare state—thus finally solving at least the economic part of what for centuries has been brooded over as the Irish Question.

Dr. Corwin on the Jenner Bill

Another Monday went by (that is the day the Judiciary Committee meets) and still the Jenner Bill was not disposed of. It is still expected that the Committee will vote it down, but there is a slim possibility that one or two Senators who oppose the bill will nevertheless vote to send it to the floor of the Senate, in order to encourage a wider debate as to its merits.

Meanwhile, a blow of enormous consequence has been struck against those who have been insisting that the Jenner Bill is a monstrous measure designed to cure imaginary evils. Professor Edward S. Corwin of Princeton is easily the best known and most widely respected authority on constitutional law in the United States. No, Professor Corwin has not come out in favor of the Jenner Bill—he opposes it, on the ground that it goes too far. But for those who feel that the present Supreme Court poses no problems, he delivers a devastating lecture, forever deflating the contention, so sedulously advanced by the Liberals, that there is nothing there to worry anyone but a foaming reactionary.

For the record:

> [The Jenner Bill] deals with a real problem which is recognized, for instance, by Judge Learned Hand in his Harvard lectures—that of keeping the Court out of legislative territory; and I might add, out of executive territory too.
>
> There can be no doubt that on June 17 last the Court went on a virtual binge and thrust its nose into matters beyond its competence, with the result that (in

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my judgment at least) it should have aforesaid nose well tweaked.

Its holding in the Watkins case, in which it claims the right to recast congressional resolutions authorizing committee investigations, is quite irresponsible and indefensible, interfering as it does with the great primal power, an inheritance of the Mother of Parliaments, as Inquest of Realm. For the transmission of this right to Congress via the early State Legislature, see the authoritative article by Dr. George B. Galloway, "Investigations, Governmental," in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (N.Y., 1932).

Equally irresponsible was the Court's holding in the Yates case on the same occasion. This practically repealed the Smith Act, although a year earlier the Court had held, in the Nelson case, that the act repealed all state anti-sedition acts, the total result being to leave the country exposed to unjustifiable propaganda urging the right to revolution.

What, then, is the remedy for this vicious nonsense? I would suggest a declaratory act of Congress assertive of the correct reading of the Constitution on the points involved in the above-mentioned cases. And I would add a reference to the Court's weird holding in *Cole* v. *Young* (July 2, 1956), in which the unique doctrine is arrived at that the Court may undertake to pit its judgment against that of an executive official as to the loyalty or reliability of a subordinate of the official.

The country needs protection against the aggressive tendency of the Court . . .

What Do You Expect for a Billion?

Within the past ten days Premier Tito of Yugoslavia has made the following two official pronouncements on international affairs:

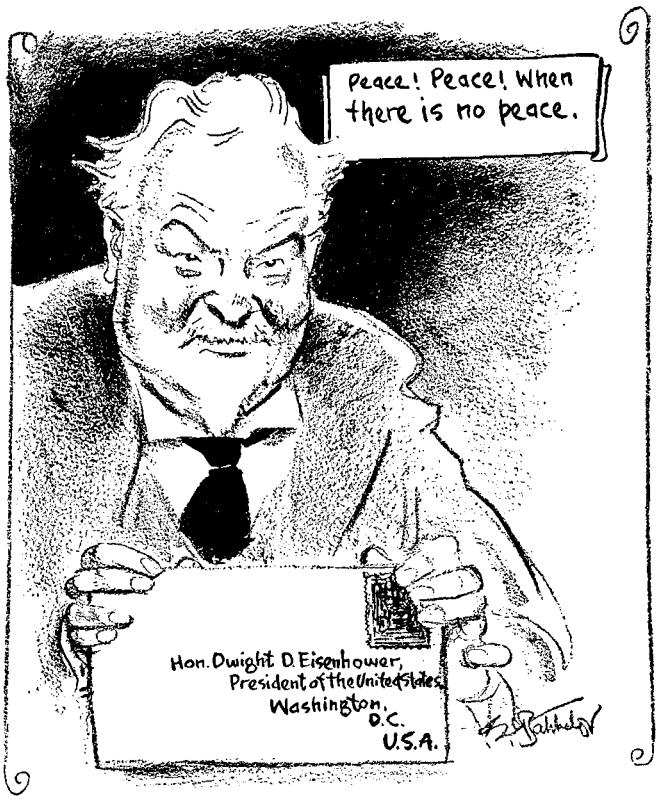
1. The Soviet proposals for a summit meeting are eminently reasonable and proper, and the United States is sabotaging the cause of peace by quibbling over them.

2. Any Western support, by word or deed, of the Indonesian anti-Communist rebel government is imperialist aggression and a menace to world peace.

Tito thus sustains his perfect record: 100 per cent support of the international views and policies of Moscow. As for his domestic program, the ten years of Titoism find Yugoslavia still operating under the collectivist structure of a Communist economy and the totalitarian monolithism of Communist politics. The political opposition is either dead, in exile, or—like Milovan Djilas—in jail.

Many times in the past several years we have tried to figure out what conceivable reason there is to continue to give foreign aid to Tito. Heaven *knows* we've tried. Without success.

We now raise, plaintively, a simple question. Is there *anything,* anything whatever, that Tito could do that would persuade the Administration to cut him off the foreign aid list? For the life of us, we can't think what *more* he could do to prove himself on the enemy's side, short, maybe, of dropping bombs on the White House; which, like the planes that would carry them, would be stamped Made in America.



What Anti-Communist Left?

NATIONAL REVIEW has been sharply scolded in the past for suggesting that in a showdown the Left—anarchists excepted—will not fight Communists. We spoke not of individuals—whose conduct is subject to the variable of free will—but of political parties and collective associations. And we did not intend a slight on Leftist courage: against fascism and against the Right the non-Communist, like the Communist, Left has on occasion fought bravely. Our conclusion, which we find both regrettable and displeasing, is simply a sociological generalization drawn from the historical record.

We are prompted by recent events to ask our friends of the American non-Communist Left what they think of the current performance of the British Labor Party and the German Social Democratic Party, the political organizations in Britain and Germany to which the sympathy and interest of the American Left are consistently attached.

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The South Seas Chapter

In the world-ranging struggles of our age it is indeed as if the moving finger of history writes, and having writ moves irrevocably on; or as if a spotlight shifts its relentless focus from one to another of the wide earth's imagined corners. Each successive scene in the fierce drama blazes for its moment in the glare, against an unexpected and often exotic setting, and then blacks out as the spotlight turns.

Poland, the fjords of Norway, the skies of England, Bataan, Tunisia, Guadalcanal, Stalingrad, Italy, Burma, Normandy: in each scene the whole meaning of the second World War was concentrated in a single action at a single place. And so it has been with the third World War that has followed the second without intermission for the audience that is also the cast. China, Czechoslavakia, Greece, Berlin, Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, Suez, Hungary . . .

And now the page turns again, the spotlight comes to a new focus. SCENE x+ 3: the soft islands of Indonesia; sound of guns; blood flowing.

For us Americans it is a hard lesson to learn to read our fate in the mountains of a shadowy Korean Peninsula, the rice paddies of Vietnam, the Middle Eastern sands or the lush jungles and columned rubber groves of Sumatra. But these are the prescribed textbooks in a world shrunk to backyard size by modern speed and modern weapons.

The shooting today in Sumatra and tomorrow in Celebes, Java and the Moluccas is a critical battle in *our* war, *our* struggle for survival. The Indonesian islands lie athwart the world's ocean highway, guarding the sole channel that gives passage between the China Sea and the Indian Ocean. They intersect our Pacific defense frontier. In the hands of the enemy, they would control the world line of communication, breach our frontier, directly threaten Australia and our Philippine fortress. And if Sukarno's Jakarta regime wins an unconditioned victory over the rebel colonels (let us begin to call them "the Sumatra government") then the enemy—world Communism, that is—will inevitably take over.

All this is at stake in Indonesia. Indonesia is now the big news—not depression or satellites or summit meetings or the latest Hollywood scandal. As a nation we have perhaps learned a few things over the past decade. At least no one is referring to the Indonesian Communists as "agrarian democrats," and no one is denying that Sukarno and the Communists are allied. Our leading journals—the *New York Times* and *Life*, for example—have defined the issues with unusual clarity. What is missing up to now is a sense of urgency, resolution and commitment.

The Sumatra government does not need American soldiers. It has plenty of fighters in its ranks, and can recruit more, quickly enough, if it can get through these first all-important weeks. But it must have more weapons, ammunition, transport. It must have anti-aircraft guns to shoot down the planes that *we* gave Sukarno; planes of its own—better than Sukarno's; boats to run the blockade; and fast patrol boats, perhaps, to blast Sukarno's ships off the seas. The colonels need credits for black-market purchases, cooperation from Caltex oil, assurance that Communist arms are not going to reach Jakarta, a blocking of Jakarta's international accounts, maybe a few American squadrons keeping an eye on the surrounding sea lanes. When Premier Sjafruddin and his colleagues feel it appropriate, they should be given whatever form of diplomatic recognition will most effectively strengthen their political foundation.

There is no way to wash this Indonesian civil war off our hands. Like Greece, like Korea, like Hungary, it is a public test of our will that is imposed on us without our seeking, but is for all our reluctance to accept it nonetheless decisive for this phase of the world struggle. Like the earlier tests, it offers us a choice very far from ideal: if Sumatra wins it will be no clear victory, but if Sukarno wins it will be a catastrophic defeat. It is not an occasion for the polite hypocrisy of diplomatic protocol and "non-intervention" formulas. It is a moment to lay it on the line.

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The British Labor Party some while ago put forward the demand for an immediate unilateral suspension of H-Bomb tests as a prelude to the ending of all nuclear tests. It has successively added to its program: no nuclear missile bases on British soil, and a stop to the present (and strategically indispensable) nuclear training and patrol flights from British fields. A large wing of the Party, though not yet the official leadership, is supporting the Victory for Socialism group and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, both of which call for immediate unilateral nuclear disarmament by the West.

The Social Democratic Party, pursuing a parallel line in Germany, demands that Germany refuse to permit NATO missile bases and reject nuclear arms for its own new army. A few days ago the Social Democratic chief, Eric Ollenhauer, the Social Democratic Mayor of Hamburg, Max Brauer, and the Social Democratic trade union boss, Willi Richter, were the controlling sponsors of a new mass appeasement front called the Committee against Atomic Death.

And yet—gentlemen of the *New Leader,* the *Reporter,* the *New York Post,* Americans for Democratic Action, the *Progressive,* the New York Liberal Party, *et al.,* who have so convinced yourselves and most of the public of your resolute anti-Communism—you will rejoice at every victory of that same British Labor Party over the British Conservatives, and of the German Social Democratic Party over Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democrats.

Explain, please.

New Metaphor Wanted

Can we "break the stalemate" with Russia? The Sunday editor of the *New York Herald Tribune* poses the question, and he has lined up three name-Liberals, each bursting with the idea of negotiation and with suggestions as to how to negotiate and what to negotiate about, not to answer the question but to beg it.

The President of the Rockefeller Foundation, for example, Mr. Dean Rusk, recognizes the "deep chasm that separates the Soviet Union from the free world," but seems very sure the two have common interests, can "identify" them, and can, by cooperating with respect to them, open up more and more "channels of communication"—until off at the end, one gathers, pop will go the stalemate. Paul Hoffman rubs himself a little against the hair-shirt he and Mr. Lippmann have been wearing, rather ostentatiously perhaps, of late: The "biggest obstacle to peace," to be sure, is the "attitude of the Soviet leaders"; obviously, however, "no single nation . . . is solely responsible"; we also have sinned, by adopting a "negative posture," which we must now abandon, and so prevail upon the leaders of the satellite and neutral nations to prevail upon the USSR to "enter into serious discussions for peace"—whereupon, presumably, the stalemate will be broken. Kenneth Holland, President of the Institute of International Education, wants us to "exchange" more and more "intellectuals" with the USSR, but shrinks at the last moment from making the point he has led us to expect: "It is," he concedes, "too early yet to know whether exchanging students, adults, and ideas will lessen the possibility of an exchange of . . . missiles."

Next time the *HT* puts the question, let it be phrased correctly, that is: How can we "break the stalemate" without endangering coexistence? And, since by definition a stalemate can't be broken, let the *HT* seek another metaphor.

"Please Go 'Way and Let Me Sleep"

The way of the anti-Communist is not particularly easy anywhere. But when it comes to running the gauntlet of the *New York Times* Sunday Book Review, the anti-Communist gets the real bumps. The standard treatment is something like being jounced over cobbled medieval streets in a Rolls-Royce with four flat tires.

On March 9 J. Edgar Hoover got the works from the Sunday *Times'* John B. Oakes in an elaborately bored review of his informed book on American Communism. A week later, on March 16, Robert Morris' *No Wonder We Are Losing* received the same sort of absent-minded response from Robert L. Duffus in a well-hidden column on page 32.

Like Mr. Oakes, Mr. Duffus begins by stifling a yawn. Then, after beating around a couple of bushes of his own conjuration, Mr. Duffus—we can hardly resist calling him Mr. Duffuse—remarks that Mr. Morris is "much disturbed, for example, by the case of Owen Lattimore, who was tried and acquitted on a perjury charge arising from committee hearings." In this instance Mr. Duffus is so bored that he can't get his facts straight. Lattimore was never tried anywhere. The legal case against Lattimore was dropped on a technicality which was singularly unhelpful in clearing up the allegation, made by an investigating committee of the U.S. Senate, that he had worked as a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" during the period in which he directed the policies of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The Sunday *Times'* feeling that anti-Communism is a dull topic fortunately does not extend to the daily *Times'* Charles Poore who, writing on Saturday, March 15, discovered that J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters*

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of Deceit is the "most authoritative book ever written on Communism in America." It is good to know that the *Times* has someone on its staff who can contemplate evidences of Communist infiltration with something more vigorous than a gasp of "Lord, Lord, when *will* they stop disturbing my sleep?"

Where's All Them Schoolrooms?

What happened to the schoolroom crisis? Last year, in a Special Message re-echoed by every educationist from here to Kamchatka, the President solemnly warned us that in no time at all our children would be doing their sums on the sidewalks and the Communists would be taking over the country, if Congress didn't that very minute come through with a few billion federal dollars to build a few hundred thousand new schoolrooms. Never since Alcibiades swiped the benches from the Platonic Academy had there been such a crisis in education.

Congress said No.

And, *mirabile dictu,* the country is still standing, the Red Army hasn't reached Washington, and every child within the statutory age limits is still going to school! What is more, those outmoded political back numbers, the states and local communities, went ahead and constructed tens of thousands of new schoolrooms without a penny of federal aid.

The schoolroom crisis just floated out the window.

Of course 1958 has its *own* educational crisis. This time it's science teachers and science students. In no time at all our children will be on breadlines and the Communists will be taking over the country —unless Congress comes through with a few billion federal dollars to educate a few hundred thousand scientists and technicians . . .

We do not know what next year's educational crisis will be. Except that it will demand a few billion federal dollars.

R. I. P.

The Mark of Harry S. Truman is smallness—of mind, of heart, and of manners; he impresses it upon everything he says or writes or does, the more unmistakably the more the occasion calls for thoughtfulness, magnaminity, and gallantry—as, in our view, his recent letter to the City Council of Hiroshima manifestly did.

He is not, he explains, "offended" at the Council's having ventured to criticize him. He even "understands" why the people of Hiroshima might have strong feelings about the atom bomb that was dropped on their city. But it has now become "necessary" to remind them of a few facts of history: Pearl Harbor was bombed "without provocation, without warning, and without a declaration of war." It was an "unnecessary and terrible act." After Potsdam, Japan was given an opportunity to surrender, but sent a "very curt and discourteous reply." Invading Japan would have required "at least 1,500,000 Allied soldiers." In due course, "it was decided [not, as always in his autobiography, "*I* decided"] to drop the atomic bomb on two Japanese cities devoted to war work for Japan." A quarter of a million Allied soldiers and a quarter of a million Japanese soldiers were thus "spared complete destruction"; the decision was, admittedly, a "fateful one," but also "urgent and necessary." And, finally, let the people of Hiroshima remember that despite Japan's having "shot [us] in the back," we have been "willing to help in every way the restoration of Japan."

No, not one word of sympathy (we think of it as Lincoln might have written it) for the survivors of Hiroshima's dead; not one grave word of regret that Hiroshima's dead should have had to die; not one gentle turn of phrase that might suggest to the people of Hiroshima that the man who ordered the bombing suffered, perhaps even prayed, before making the decision, and carries within him a deep sense of its awfulness; and not one ray of recognition of the question that must be at the back of the minds of the people of Hiroshima, and that ought to haunt Harry Truman: "Was it *really* necessary? Might a mere demonstration of the bomb, followed by an ultimatum, have turned the trick?"

If there is a satisfactory answer to that question, the people of Hiroshima *and* the people of the United States have a right to hear it.

Notes and Asides

A few weeks ago, NATIONAL REVIEW ran the following editorial paragraph: "WANTED: A Case History—of a bright and qualified young American boy who could not get into college in 1957 for failure to find scholarship aid . . . and will pay, to the first three readers who send in case histories, ten dollars each." For weeks we had no replies whatever. Now they are beginning to come in—but not what we specified. Without exception, the letters consist of appeals for scholarship aid in behalf of someone. None has listed either the name of the college that refused scholarship aid, or detailed evidence of the qualifications of the student. We are not, we regret to say, in a position to distribute scholarships. We are in the business of trying to find out where are all those people the government has to come to the rescue of. Our thirty dollars is going begging.

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Mr. Lewis and Radio Free Europe

National Review surveys the conflict between Fulton Lewis Jr. and Radio Free Europe and proposes a course of action for common enlightenment . . .

AN EDITORIAL

If something is not done about it soon, the war between Fulton Lewis Jr. and Radio Free Europe may have unwelcome consequences. For one thing, the issues, as time goes by, are becoming so tangled as to make it more and more difficult to get to the bottom of them. Tempers, moreover, are hot. Radio Free Europe has been, and continues to be, under fire from other quarters. It was widely alleged a year ago that RFE's galvanizing broadcasts brought on the Hungarian uprising, and the subsequent carnage. In any case, the danger is that anti-anti-Communists and neutralists will exploit the situation to bring on results that neither Mr. Lewis nor RFE would welcome. It is time for anti-Communists to suggest a course of action; one which, because it is fair and constructive, might compel the support and cooperation of the two camps. We intend to make such a proposal here, after examining the nature of the problem.

Fulton Lewis Jr. began to broadcast his criticisms on October 31, 1957, some eight years after Radio Free Europe was founded. Mr. Lewis does not object, he has reminded his audience, to the "ideals" of Radio Free Europe; but he feels that, for a number of reasons, the organization is not living up to its posted principles. Night after night, week after week, month after month, he has been giving reasons to support his central contentions that Radio Free Europe is being gravely mismanaged, and that the line it takes in its broadcasts is ideologically unsatisfactory. Unquestionably he has undermined confidence in the organization on the part of most of his listeners and readers, and they are numerous. What is the objective of Mr. Lewis? Reform, compelled by a congressional investigation.

Radio Free Europe at times acts as though Fulton Lewis Jr. did not exist, and at other times tears its hair in semi-public exhibitions of anguish. RFE has not publicly conceded that there is merit in any of the charges Fulton Lewis has made. Privately, it may be another matter: outsiders have no way of knowing. RFE's counteroffensive has been to pretend, for the benefit of those who are unaware of it, that the war does not exist; and for those who are concerned, to encourage the belief that Fulton Lewis Jr. is wildly irresponsible, but that RFE, alas, cannot make a conclusive public demonstration of his irresponsibility because of the character of its operations, which depend heavily, for their success, on secrecy. We can't hit back, they are saying in effect; and that is why we haven't annihilated Lewis.

Government Funds?

We come to the crux of the problem. It is considered indiscreet to speculate publicly on the extent to which RFE is a government-directed enterprise. For one thing, the Communists are constantly alleging this in an effort to reduce RFE's flexibility. For purposes of this analysis it is not necessary to assert or to deny RFE's dependence on Central Intelligence Agency funds. Conceivably it gets three quarters of its money (Lewis estimates it at $20 million a year) from the CIA; conceivably it gets not a penny: the analysis is unaffected because it is obvious that without government sufferance, RFE could not operate.

Clearly RFE's bases in Munich and Lisbon, whence it transmits to countries behind the Iron Curtain, are leased to it by Germany and Portugal by arrangement with the American government. If the State Department, or in any case the White House, gave the word, the doors of RFE would close as inexorably as if the State Department were dealing with one of its consular offices. Shortly after the Polish and Hungarian uprisings, for example, the State Department agreed, in conversations with the Soviet Union, to suspend RFE's provocative balloon program; and, dutifully, down came the balloons, illustrating the kind of authority the government exercises over RFE's operations.

But in international affairs, it appears to be important to be able to attach a certain plausibility, however superficial, to routine diplomatic affirmations, in this case the statement that CIA (*i.e.*, the government) does not direct (even negatively) the policy of RFE. To strengthen that impression—and perhaps to reduce the drain on CIA funds—a great deal of trouble is taken to solicit funds from private corporations and individual citizens, a project undertaken every year by an organization called Crusade for Freedom, whose exclusive function it is to raise money for RFE.

Crusade for Freedom makes a prodigious campaign for funds, enlisting the efforts of a glittering roster of big-name sponsors. The campaign is regularly launched by the President himself. Heads of mighty industrial organizations take it from there, touring the country and making speeches, mostly to presidents of other large corporations. The harvest is good. Last year, for example, Standard Oil gave $250,000. Other organizations give anywhere from $500 to $100,000. On top of that, newspaper boys collect pennies and dimes from their clients. The total amount raised is not revealed, but $10 million appears to be a reasonable guess. The donations are, of course, tax exempt.

Rather a good demonstration, then, can be made in the course of contending that RFE is privately financed, as RFE officials stoutly in-

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sist it is—therein observing if not the truth, at least the protocols. Fulton Lewis Jr. asserts that CIA puts up a large part of the money. But as we say, this is not a dispute that needs to be—or even should be—adjudicated; it is enough to bear in mind that, as lessor, the government has a veto power over RFE, and that therefore any criticism of RFE for *conforming* with American foreign policy is inapposite, since RFE presumably has no alternative. For example, if the Eisenhower Administration comes out for aid to Tito—as, regrettably, it has—it is unrealistic to suppose that RFE could get away with broadcasting analyses as to why aid to Tito is unwise. Fulton Lewis can, however, correctly protest the representations of Crusade for Freedom to anti-Communist donors; for Crusade is not above suggesting that Radio Free Europe, as an independent organization, can hew a tough anti-Communist line which the American government, weighted down by diplomatic and political inhibitions, could never do—even if it were so disposed. In other words, if RFE must adopt a friendly attitude toward Tito because the U.S. Government does, is it right to solicit anti-Tito dollars from Americans who assume that Radio Free Europe, an organization of perceptive anti-Communists, would never fall for the delusions that tend to bewitch our policy-makers?

RFE's refusal to publish reports on its intimate affairs cannot be assumed to confirm its connection with CIA. RFE can adduce altogether convincing reasons for keeping its operations secret. Under RFE cover, the organization presumably engages—let us certainly hope it does—in clandestine, quasi-conspiratorial anti-Communist operations. To put it another way, if it does not do so, with the singular opportunities open to it, its directors should be hanged. One must bear in mind, then, that RFE can reasonably refuse to ventilate its intimate operations on the ground that to do so would be to "blow" (a spy-word meaning to expose and thus render ineffective) its valuable operations.

We have arrived at a point where a crucial distinction needs to be made, and hereafter borne in mind. *Some* operations of RFE are secret, and cannot, without damage to them, be publicly surveyed; but *some are not,* and therefore could be, without damage to anything except, possibly, a malefactor directly involved, properly investigated. RFE and Fulton Lewis Jr., it appears to us, have both failed to make that distinction as sharply as it should be made: RFE by applying the cloak of immunity to operations that appear to be self-confined and overt; Fulton Lewis by implying that everything RFE does bears public investigation. The distinction is not always easy to apply, to be sure. What may appear to an outsider wholly aboveboard may in fact be a painfully contrived cover for a clandestine enterprise. A publication may take a particular position on a particular issue for reasons that have nothing to do with the merits of the case—but because by taking that position, attention is distracted from Operation X; and so on. The fact that the distinction is not readily applied will figure in the proposal we make below.

Heated Words

In the current dispute between Fulton Lewis Jr. and RFE, what one might have expected to happen has, alas, happened: passion has crept in. Fulton Lewis Jr., RFE officials are saying, has been so outrageously irresponsible as to make preposterous the suggestion that we undertake a serious discussion with him. If any of my facts are off, Fulton Lewis Jr. answers, it is because RFE has refused to cooperate with me in checking the material I have, and in answering, responsibly, the charges that I have made.

And indeed, RFE has behaved strangely to say the least. Until a few weeks ago, the president of RFE, General Willis D. Crittenberger, an old subordinate and friend of General Eisenhower, refused to see Fulton Lewis or to answer any communication or inquiry Fulton Lewis addressed to him. During Christmas week Mr. Gwylim Price, at the time president of Westinghouse and president of Crusade for Freedom, made an appointment to see Fulton Lewis in New York. Lewis came up from Washington prepared to see Mr. Price, but Mr. Price cancelled the appointment and failed to make another one.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of letters have been written by listeners of Fulton Lewis to presidents of corporations in which they own stock, asking how the corporations justify, in the teeth of Fulton Lewis' revelations, making gifts to Crusade for Freedom. Inevitably the replies to the stockholders, some of them calm but most of them seething, are forwarded to Fulton Lewis Jr., and he has, in the choicer cases, read them over the air, thus understandably inflaming his audience. A lady who, as a consumer of Westinghouse products, wrote questioning the company's support of RFE, received a letter from Mr. Lester J. Marier, the secretary of the president, as follows:

> I naturally regret that you have apparently accepted as gospel truth the tripe which Fulton Lewis Jr. has seen fit to write in his newspaper column and say over his radio program about the Crusade for Freedom . . . it is your privilege to place your confidence in whomever you wish. Personally I prefer to place my trust in the people who are directly responsible for the welfare and security of our country, rather than a washed-up third-rate columnist, who, with total disregard for the accuracy of his statements, by inference, innuendo, half-truth and misrepresentation is frantically striving to attract attention with the sole objective of bringing himself to the attention of an audience greater than the relatively meagre one he enjoys at the present time.

That is not the way to settle an argument; indeed, one might go so far as to say that is no way to address a lady; in any event, this is the kind of thing that is being lobbed back and forth.

Radio Free Europe has not in a corporate capacity taken part in the groin-and-eyeball fighting. Its official salvos have been restrained. On November 26, the Crusade issued a "Fact Sheet" "concerning charges of Fulton Lewis Jr. against Crusade for Freedom and Radio Free Europe." Mr. Lewis, the memorandum began, had "for reasons unknown to the Crusade for Freedom" launched an attack based on "unfounded and erroneous charges" which Crusade was therewith refuting; and a nine-page memorandum followed. Two additional fact sheets have been issued, but their distribution has been limited, and the general impression has been one of official silence.

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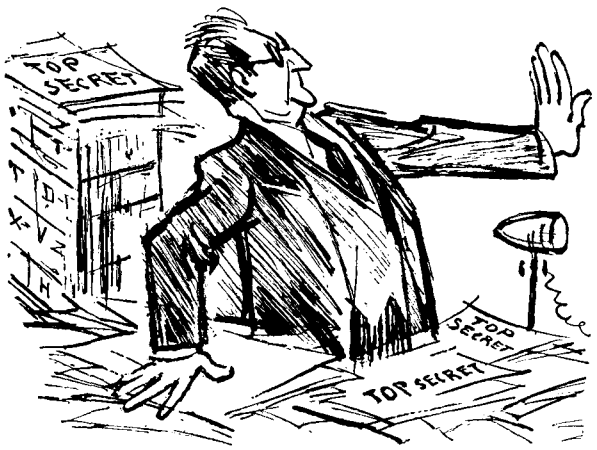
Silence, as any controversialist knows, can be as insulting as insults; and RFE's silence has clearly enraged Fulton Lewis' listeners, who construe it as a snub probably traceable to a terrified reluctance to examine the facts.

RFE's rebuttal of November 26 contained a few egregious misstatements which Lewis promptly exposed, thus discrediting, or attempting to do so by inference, the entire document. "Lewis," the memorandum stated, "indicates that various members of the RFE staff were 'Red plants.' There is no basis to Mr. Lewis' charges on security. The chief security officer of RFE was one of the founders, with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, of the modern FBI, and accepted FBI procedures on screening are used."

Lewis submitted the memorandum to J. Edgar Hoover, who was manifestly upset by it, replying to Lewis



that the gentleman in question had been hired ten years after the founding of the modern FBI—and as a temporary typist. (He went on to become a special agent, and stayed with the FBI, performing satisfactorily, until he resigned in 1943.) "It would appear," Mr. Hoover wrote, "that the claim that Mr. Myers was one of the founders of the modern FBI might be placed in the category of 'literary license.' Sincerely, Edgar."

Big-Name Sponsors

Or consider Fulton Lewis' incessant charge that the name-sponsors of Crusade for Freedom know very little about what goes on in Radio Free Europe: "Whether they ever actually attend any board meetings, I would be inclined to doubt." To which RFE answered: "The Crusade board members maintain an active interest [What constitutes "an active interest"? Lewis shot back] in Crusade matters, meet regularly [What is "regularly"? Lewis asked] and are kept fully advised of [*sic*] operational matters. [Does that mean, Lewis asked, that they know about the charges he, Lewis, has raised? Or does their apparent ignorance of them indicate that being "fully advised" is in this case to be less well advised than Lewis believes it necessary to be, under the circumstances?] In addition, the Executive Committee meets frequently [There's another one of those ambiguous words, Lewis asserts] to consider every phase of Crusade's operation. [Crusade, Lewis rightly points out, merely raises money and turns it over to RFE. The point is, what do Crusade's directors know about how that money is *spent*?] Eugene Holman, Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil Company (N.J.), is Chairman of the Executive Committee. Other members are Gwylim Price, President and Chairman of the Board of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Crusade; Dr. Frank Stanton, President of CBS, Inc.; Mr. Earl Newsom, senior partner of Earl Newsom and Company; General Willis D. Crittenberger, President of the Free Europe Committee, Inc.; Mr. Cecil Morgan, Vice President of Esso, and Mr. Arthur Page, President of Crusade, and consultant to A.T. and T."

So what? Fulton Lewis asks, justifiably annoyed by the tendency of RFE to name-pull as a means of meeting criticism. Certainly the reliance of RFE apologists on Big Names has been aggravating, and perhaps the truest generalization Fulton Lewis has made is that the presumption is very much against personal familiarity, by these busy men, with the intimate life of Radio Free Europe. The President of Socony Mobil Oil, which has been giving Crusade $50,000 a year, informed a dissident stockholder that "[RFE] has the support of our government. Pending any change by our government in its attitude towards Crusade for Freedom, we expect to continue contributing to the organization." "You will note," wrote an executive of Chrysler to a stockholder, "[the] endorsement of the Crusade by President Dwight Eisenhower . . ." ". . . the Crusade," wrote Westinghouse to the abused lady mentioned above, "has the strong support not only of President Eisenhower and the numerous prominent industrial leaders of the country whose names you will find [in the enclosed literature] . . . but of the 76 social, fraternal, religious, veteran and labor organizations mentioned, representative of every segment of American population. I ask you, Mrs. Cox, do you suppose that the President of the United States, the other individuals named, constituting a major segment of the industrial backbone of this country, and these 76 patriotic and God-fearing organizations would lend their endorsement, their support and their dollars to a discredited organization? . . . Do you believe that this endorsement, this support, is given blindly?" To which Fulton Lewis, submitting to a rhetorically irresistible temptation, answered "Yes, I do suppose that the President of the United States and the other individuals named, and the 76 patriotic, God-fearing organizations *would* lend their endorsement, their support and their dollars to a 'discredited' organization—because they're doing it in this case."

Unsupported Generalizations

Now the fact that Radio Free Europe is *not* (at any rate, not yet) a "discredited organization" does not detract from the essential validity of Fulton Lewis' contention that Big Name sponsorship does not guarantee purity. He has not yet done so, but he could in this connection profitably recall the impressive sponsorship of the Institute of Pacific Relations during a period when, history has established, its effective leadership was pro-Communist.

This tack has hurt RFE. It does not require much sophistication to deduce that the chances are a million to one against Eisenhower having any idea whatever as to the nature

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of Lewis' criticisms of RFE; so that a Presidential testimonial is no more meaningful—and no more unexplainable—than would have been a tribute to the Department of the Interior by President Harding on the eve of Teapot Dome.

Lewis, on the other hand, will sometimes make a charge—or endorse someone else's—and not return to it if it appears to have been effectively discredited; as, for example, his suggestion early in November that only one per cent of Iron Curtain escapees had ever heard, or heard of, RFE. He has not repeated or withdrawn that charge, which is evidently false. Fulton Lewis Jr. is most vulnerable to the charge that, by imprecise formulations, and unsupported generalizations—*e.g.*, RFE is a "discredited organization"—he has in effect condemned the entire enterprise, and this without a complete survey of the amount of good it is doing; without, that is to say, a detailed examination of the RFE broadcasts themselves, or of the extent to which they nourish or inform anti-Communist sentiment on the other side of the Iron Curtain. In short, whereas Fulton Lewis may have made out a case for reform, he can be construed as calling for abolition.

The Charges

What is Fulton Lewis Jr. saying about Radio Free Europe? Most of his charges fall under one of two headings. The first is maladministration. RFE, says Lewis, is extravagant, and its personnel policy is indefensible. Second is the charge of ideological insufficiency: RFE is anti-Stalinist, but not anti-Communist. There is no room to catalogue the specific charges, merely to give a few specimens.

RFE is vastly overstaffed (says Lewis). It has over 2,000 employees, far more than are necessary to do the job. In New York, young Ivy Leaguers pursue incestuous employment policies, giving fat jobs at fat salaries to other Ivy Leaguers, and disporting themselves as "Rover boys" romping about the world as amateur intriguers. In Munich, life is hedonistic in luxurious, RFE-owned apartment buildings. Spending is profligate, and staffs are swollen.

Security is bad, with the result that RFE is vulnerable to penetration by Communists. Indeed, several employees of RFE have "redefected" to Communism, and have broadcast attacks on RFE, raising the possibility that they were plants.

The Czech desk (and to a lesser extent the Rumanian desk) is manned by Marxists who address their listeners out of basically Marxist context. Moreover, some of these men are personally loathed by anti-Communist Czechs in virtue of unsavory political records piled up before the 1948 coup. These men make the mistake which Radio Free Europe characteristically makes: they concentrate on encouraging Titoist tendencies in the satellite nations, instead of fomenting antipathy to the generic disease of Marxism. That, Mr. Lewis believes, RFE was designed to do, and should be doing; and that is what people who give to the Crusade believe, mistakenly, that they are supporting.

How effective is RFE? Lewis drastically disputes RFE's claims about the number of persons who listen to its programs.

Finally, there is the case that fits in no particular category, but is of considerable interest in the area of civil liberties: the hair-raising case of Fletcher Bartholomew. Bartholomew was a meteorologist with Radio Free Europe. In 1956, preparing to return to Minneapolis with his wife and three children, Bartholomew submitted some detailed complaints against RFE in a confidential memorandum of which he made three copies, sending one to Allen Dulles in Washington, a second to the head of RFE in New York, a third to the U.S. Consul in Munich. A few days before his scheduled departure he was lured into the psychiatric ward at a U.S. Army hospital and forcibly detained. A few days later, having first been moved to Frankfort, he was flown to the United States in a strait jacket. There he was promptly released. Lewis asserts that his detention was illegal even assuming Bartholomew were insane, which he is not; and implies that the purpose of the manhandling was to intimidate Bartholomew, and to impugn his credibility.

Fletcher Bartholomew, RFE contends, was a psychiatric case, and he was handled with reference to the best "interests of Mr. Bartholomew himself, the United States government and Free Europe Committee."

Survey Suggested

NATIONAL REVIEW proposes that a committee be established to survey the work of Radio Free Europe. The committee should have three or possibly five members who are students of Communism. One member should have experience in financial affairs, giving his special attention to the administration of RFE. The following list suggests a roster from which the committee might be drawn: James Burnham, Sidney Hook, Will Herberg, Eugene Lyons, Charles Lowry, Thomas Murray, Max Eastman, Ralph de Toledano, William Henry Chamberlin, Christopher Emmet, Robert Morris, Francis McNamara, Stephen Possony, Robert Strausz-Hupé, Louis Nichols, Henry Kissinger —to mention only a few who are obviously qualified.

Responsible anti-Communists should make every effort to persuade Radio Free Europe to submit to the committee's investigation and to make available to it confidential figures and reports, on the understanding, of course, that confidential information would not be publicized. Fulton Lewis Jr. should be persuaded to accept the committee's findings as to the net value to the West of Radio Free Europe's operations.

The committee's report would publicly discuss those of Fulton Lewis' charges that can be discussed without hazard to security. It would pass judgment on their merit, and call on Radio Free Europe to reform in areas where reform is indicated.

In the event that Fulton Lewis or Radio Free Europe declined to cooperate, the committee should consider the wisdom of proceeding anyway, surveying whatever data are available, and making a report for the guidance of perplexed anti-Communists.

The plan for an independent committee to survey the operations of Radio Free Europe has the explicit endorsement, at this writing, of the Rev. John F. Cronin, Max Eastman, Arnold Beichman, Rep. Alvin Bentley, Sol Stein, Marvin Liebman, Herbert Philbrick, Sidney Hook, Frank Hanighen, and Christopher Emmet.

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The Byrd 'Machine'

That's the Way They Want It

H. GIFFORD IRION

As anyone familiar with the behavior of children in groups must know, there is likely to be a bully in every neighborhood. His technique is fairly simple. He enjoys pushing the smaller and younger children around because they are not so likely to retaliate. If they show spirit and punch him, he yells his head off that he's being attacked.

The technique is remarkably effective; so effective that it has been imitated by older and, you may be sure, far more astute persons. Back in the thirties it was the Communists. Whenever they could do so, they pulled some stunt to outrage an employer, a community or even a government; and when the outraged party struck back, they screamed their heads off. By skillful use of this tactic they persuaded a good many gullible persons that they were the victims of abuse or witch-hunting.

In more recent times the trick has been used successfully by those who choose to call themselves "liberals." One of their favorite victims is Virginia's Senator Byrd. They hate the Senator for many reasons: his unfaltering adherence to economy; his opposition to expanding federal power; his stand on the school question. But whatever the particular gripe may be, they rarely argue the case on its merits. Bullying in this instance consists in denouncing what is called the "Byrd Machine," and the mere mention of the term is comparable to the bully's shoving of a playmate.

If the Senator has the audacity to talk back or if an admirer attempts to defend him, there is an immediate outcry. What the Liberal press really wants is for Senator Byrd to lie down and let himself be kicked again.

It might be fair to ask just what it is about the Byrd Machine that makes it so reprehensible. Curiously enough, even its opponents have never classified it with organizations such as those of Hague or Crump. No financial scandals have emanated from its ranks, nor are hapless voters cudgelled on election day when they mark their ballots the wrong way. The machine appears to function quietly and, as all will admit, successfully. So far as one can gather from the attacks on it, there is only one reason why it is disliked. It stands as an effective block against the kind of humanitarian idealism which would gladly sacrifice constitutional liberty for the Welfare State and all that it implies. If Byrd's organization were not so consistently successful at the polls, if it occasionally suffered defeat, you may be sure the opposition would not be so venomous.

No Tricks

As a Virginian of many years residence—though not a native—I have been interested, even amused, to observe this phenomenon and try to explain it. Here, true enough, is a party organization which controls the state and most of its local units and maintains a united front on most national issues; yet it does not do so through any of the normal cheap tricks used by urban machines. Peculation does not exist—or, at least, it has never been charged. Why, one may ask, do Virginians submit so willingly when they are not bribed or coerced?

The answer is simple. Without question Senator Byrd accurately reflects the overwhelming sentiment of the people of his state. If you talk to Virginians in almost any section of the state you are likely to find their views remarkably harmonious with those expressed by the Senator. They abhor vast federal spending. They distrust accumulation of power by the national government. They are internationally minded in the sense of being concerned about our foreign relations and having a healthy interest in the life and culture of other nations, but they frown on subsidies to alleged allies. They are, it goes without saying, as adamant against integration as any people in the country. In short, they are what most Americans would call conservative.

The dominant opinion of Virginia is normally expressed in the editorial pages of the two Richmond newspapers, the *Times-Dispatch* and the *News-Leader*. Yet both journals preserve a fair-minded and independent position on all questions. Hostile opinion frequently finds its way into the "Letters to the Editor" columns. Antagonistic views from out of state are reported fully. If New York, Boston and Philadelphia papers gave as much space to Southern opinion as the Richmond papers give to Northern, there would probably be far less distrust and misunderstanding between North and South.

It is, perhaps, this very tolerance which annoys the Liberals. If a Virginia Liberal could only be persecuted there would be something to complain about. If freedom of speech were only suppressed, the Byrd Machine could be denounced with justice. Since these arguments are not available, the Liberals necessarily resort to the tactics of the bully. They subject Virginians to mockery and contempt, but when a Virginian seeks to reply they revile him. Within Virginia, however, life goes on serenely. People make life enjoyable by practicing hospitality, by refusing to get exercised over doctrinaire movements and by revering local traditions. This is not to say that Virginians are not conscious of their faults or that they live in a monolithic state of reaction. Poor people are not abused or neglected. The typical Virginian, however, prefers Christian charity to government spending. He also prefers to work out his own problems without aid from an authoritarian national government. That is why he votes for Senator Byrd and others like him.

If anyone supposes that bullying is going to make over the State of Virginia, he is very much mistaken. You might as well ask a Virginian to abandon horse shows and hunts for the pari-mutuel machine. Or to give up bourbon whisky for rye. His tastes, like his politics, are very, very deep-rooted.

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Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Victory for Communist Propaganda

"Ban the bomb!": that's the slogan of the day. No sane person ever wants to be blown up, of course, but during the past few weeks there has been a steadily mounting clamor in favor of unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons by Britain. This clamor flows onto and swells the still louder demands for "summit talks" and protests against the establishment of American rocket bases in Britain. Public opinion polls suggest that those who unconditionally reject all nuclear weapons are still in a slight minority but some 55 per cent definitely disapprove of the rocket bases and an overwhelming majority pin their faith to a summit conference. The prevailing mood is frighteningly reminiscent of the thirties.

Tumultuous "ban the bomb" meetings are being held and addressed by such speakers as Bertrand Russell and J. B. Priestley. The protesters are a heterogeneous lot. Most of them are too entirely swayed by emotion, whether honest revulsion from a horrible thing or just plain fear, to have any rational answer to the hundred questions which would arise if Britain really were to abandon nuclear weapons and close the American bases. But the power of a movement like this lies not in the rationality of its cause but in the pressure of emotion it can build up and direct at a country's leaders.

More Sound than Sense

The most respectable element are the genuine pacifists, the people who really would rather be killed than kill, who would suffer all evil rather than resist with violence. But this is a hard doctrine and there are few who hold it. Far more numerous are the quasi-pacifists, who seem to have no particular objection to any weapon except nuclear ones. They want Britain to take the lead in abandoning nuclear weapons, thereby gaining great moral influence in the world and shaming Russia and the United States into doing the same. They stress the importance of making the renunciation quickly before all sorts of small nations start piling up their own bombs. There is enough sense in this latter point to attract intelligent people. But no one has yet explained why the sight of Britain throwing away her bomb should dissuade Nicaragua from making one or Colonel Nasser from buying one: nor is it clear what sort of moral lead is likely to impress politicians whose code of morality is quite different and certainly not pacifist.

Less creditable is the argument that as long as America has nuclear weapons, Britain does not need them. This school of thought has gained a remarkable number of adherents since it became clear that the Russians were capable of hitting back.

Oxford, as in the thirties, has been particularly vocal. An entire issue of the *Isis* was devoted to an attack on nuclear weapons and the politicians who support them: it sold out so fast that an extra edition had to be printed. Some of the women undergraduates called for a Lysistrata-type refusal to go out with any man who didn't join the campaign: but nature proved stronger than politics and this was not a success.

This whole campaign is largely, though not entirely, political. Its strength comes from the Left. The official Labor Party view, as expressed this week by Mr. Gaitskell and by the Trade Union Congress, is that Britain should suspend hydrogen-bomb tests for a limited period and not allow any work to begin on the rocket bases until after a summit conference has been held. This is much too mild for a ginger group on the Left of the Party, which calls itself the Victory for Socialism movement and wants complete abolition of nuclear weapons. It is unlikely to make much headway politically but it adds considerably to the clamor.

What does it all amount to? It does not mean that Britain will in fact become a nuclear neutral or cut herself adrift from her allies. Even the least responsible politicians of the Labor Party have too much sense and honesty to consider that. It does mean that an unhealthy climate of opinion is being formed which no politician of any party dares ignore.

The anti-Americanism which has long been grumbling beneath the surface is beginning to show itself again. Mr. Dulles, never a popular figure in Britain, is being blamed for his obduracy in rejecting so much sweet reasonableness from the Kremlin. The situation is increasingly painted in terms of two giant powers with Britain cowering in the middle. The summit is confidently seen as the promised land.

No Solid Ground

Waves of pacifist feeling are understandable and recurrent. Britain hasn't gone entirely soft in the head or weak in the will. But there can be no doubt that the present situation constitutes a great victory for Communist propaganda. Hungary has been forgotten in less than eighteen months. The strain which seemed to be imposed then on the Communist bloc has been neatly transferred to the Western Alliance. Russia's unremitting efforts to isolate America from her allies are going well.

The Kremlin starts with an enormous advantage in a propaganda contest such as this. It can speak with two voices. It can coo like a sucking dove to the world at large, posing as the champion of peace and appearing endlessly flexible: at the same time it can preach world revolution at home. All means of communication being strictly controlled, there is no danger of the lines getting crossed.

Western statesmen have no such advantages. Public opinion can build up as a separate force. The newspapers and radio make sure that the Kremlin propaganda reaches its mark. The newspapers are quite right in claiming that the demand for a summit conference is a triumph of popular will over political caution. The leaders of the West are being rolled along by a powerful, unreasoning stream. They sometimes snatch at the bank or grasp a floating log, but there is no firm ground under them.

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Dilemmas of Foreign Policy

FRANK S. MEYER

The Climate of Discussion

A curious air of unreality seems to pervade what is said and written these days on American foreign policy. And this quality is as pronounced in the thoughtful studies of a Kennan or a Kissinger as in the simple nostrums of an Eisenhower or the hysterical whinings of a Norman Cousins. What is lacking is not awareness of crisis, nor even (for example in Kissinger) honest and careful effort to analyze its aspects and prescribe instrumentalities with which solutions might be achieved. What gives the discussion, the analyses, the proposals, that air of unreality which (to my mind at least) seems to pervade them is the refusal to face simultaneously all the principled issues involved, simultaneously to see both sides of our dilemma, no matter how fearful the contradiction that may be disclosed.

This refusal takes several forms: a desire to simplify what cannot be simplified, to grasp one or the other horn of the dilemma of freedom or peace; or a concentration upon means and instrumentalities with such single-mindedness that the principled issues are simply ignored.

There are two kinds of simplification, of which the first is greatly the more dangerous. In the first, the horrors of modern military technology are so central to the mind that freedom and the values of Western civilization become secondary to biological survival. In the second, there is full recognition that freedom and the good must always be fought for if they are to survive, but the power of the enemy and the terrible potential results of the measures necessary to defeat him are minimized: the patent facts of technological reality are pooh-poohed, and the immensity of the moral determination necessary to the defense of freedom is reduced to a simple paradigm.

But more prevalent than these escapes from reality, these simplifications, is the instrumentalist approach which simply ignores the principled issues, while the abilities of powerful minds are diverted to weaving a scholastic web of argument about means: tactical nuclear weapons, little wars, "relaxation of tension."

The Moral Dilemma

These evasions of the issue are understandable enough. A powerful instinct urges flight from full awareness of the immensity of the problem. A fear exists below conscious expression that it may be of such a character and magnitude that no satisfactory solution can be achieved by the human intellect; that the defense of the freedom and the values which the West has always felt to be the way and the end of man's existence may be impossible without the risk of the extermination of the human species, of the race that has borne witness to those values.

To this fear it is not enough to answer as one is impelled to do: If a choice must be made between the claims of the good, and of the freedom essential to human movement toward the good, and the claims of survival, then freedom and the good, being transcendentally based, take absolute precedence in the hierarchy of values over the survival of the species, over biological ends. It is one thing for a person to decide for the good at the risk of death for himself—the right and noble decision of a virtuous man; it is another thing to will that decision upon tens of millions of other men, women and children. A moral problem exists—as desperate a one as human beings have ever faced. If only war, with all it means today, can vindicate the truths for which it is man's function to live, and if the means necessary to that vindication are, or will shortly be, as destructive of human life as rational examination would seem to indicate, what is the moral and political duty demanded of us?

The Primary Duty

One thing is clear: There can be no retreat from the primary duty of standing for the right. If the Soviet Union is not merely a foreign imperialist power, strong, threatening, inimical to our national interests, but is the state form taken by a materialist faith determined to rule the world and wipe out on the earth the very memory and image of man as a free being called to goals beyond material power and material satisfaction —then, the destruction of this state is a clear duty.

It is no answer to say that the vice that Communism represents has eaten in another form into our own vitals, to ask what right we have, ourselves half committed to socialism and materialism, to set ourselves forth as champions of human freedom and the human spirit. If we can raise ourselves to view steadily and wholly the moral crisis at which we stand and to act in the full light of our understanding, then the inner corruption will be purged away in the very act of recognizing the true reality of the external corruption and of girding our will to stand radically against it.

There is no question or doubt of the clarity of the enemy on the basic problem. It is expressed throughout the canonical writings of Communism; it is implicit in the very being of Communists. Materialists though they are, they do not concern themselves with survival as an end. It is an older and a blacker materialist vision than the pallidities of relativism that inspires them: to seize the wheel of history, to wipe out the heavens, to remake the world and man; and they are committed either

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to victory in that struggle over whoever stands against them or, in Marx's words, to "the common ruin of the contending classes."

Nor can our responsibility be lifted from our shoulders by reliance upon the magical transformation of the "uncommitted third of the world" into a bulwark that will somehow stop Communism without action upon our part—a bulwark to be raised by world-wide WPA and world-wide fireside-chats broadcast in forty languages by the Voice of America. Even if the ancient civilizations of Hinduism, of Buddhism and Taoism, of Islam, were not long departed from their foundations, it is not their visions of reality, however profound, that could stand against the Communist assault upon the autonomy of the person. It is Western civilization that has grasped, by understanding and by grace, this, the highest concept of man in the history of the race. It is Western civilization that has imperfectly, hesitantly, with contradictions and manifold setbacks, moved towards expressing it in practice. Upon the West and the West alone rests the responsibility to destroy Communism. And in the West it is only the United States that has the power and—however sapped—the will to champion in action the civilization of which it is the latest son.

The responsibility to decide is on our shoulders, and however we turn and squirm, like an uneasy Atlas, we cannot shake it loose. No tolerant mother or skillful father is going to open the nursery door and say, "You've tried to solve that problem long enough. This is the way to do it."

The Soviet Plan of Campaign

Nor can we take refuge behind the self-warming thought that we are not aggressors, that we want peace; and if the Soviet Union is as bad as some people say, one day it will attack us, and then we can fight with full assurance that we are the aggrieved party and have taken no steps to bring about the disaster. The Soviet Union will never attack us so long as we yield to it (as we have this dozen years, step by step and point by point) everything it wants, from Peiping to Budapest to Cairo, because "nuclear war is unthinkable." From the Middle East through Africa and Latin America, from Indonesia through India and Pakistan, from East Germany through West Germany and Western Europe, the ice sheet, sometimes slowly, sometimes faster, will cover the world. As long as we do not recognize the sheer evil that is advancing for what it is, we shall retreat step by step.

What then, when Communism stands at our boundaries? The next era might be long, but unless at that late hour we reared up and—aggressively—struck out against the evil at long last recognized, there would still be no war. A Sovietized UN would bring ultimatum after ultimatum against us, designed to destroy all forces of resistance. Each would seem, if we retained our present attitude towards Communism, too small a thing (like Budapest) to endanger the survival of the human race. Unless we recognize the character of our enemies and take the initiative, we shall be defeated. The one thing we dare not do is to await supinely the unfolding of their plan of campaign.

The Moral Alternatives

But what, to return to what I have said earlier, of the moral problem involved in taking that initiative and risking the unleashing of total nuclear war? If that evil and the greater evil of Communist world domination are held simultaneously in the mind, and if wishful thinking and concentration upon arid instrumentalities are eschewed, only two moral alternatives remain, I believe.

One course would be to take up the championship of the world and, by ultimatum after ultimatum, drive the Kremlin forces back to their narrowest limits, prepared each time to fight at any risk if our ultimatum were denied, until finally we destroyed by ultimatum or by force the very center of the Communist power. This is the only meaning implicit in our rhetoric of "liberation," a rhetoric which is not forgotten in the moral realm nor in the hearts of the enslaved peoples, however convenient it may be to use it in an election campaign and then forget it. But this, the strength and the character of our enemy being what it is, would almost inevitably result in world-wide nuclear warfare.

Or, if that eventuality is one that we cannot accept, if, recognizing clearly the great evil of Communist domination, we refuse to will the lesser evil of biological extermination, then it would seem time to stop sneering at the concept of Fortress America as a Neanderthal survival of a pre-Roosevelt age.

It is only children's games to pretend that anything but the ultimate weapon restrains the Soviets. And present technological developments have brought about a situation in which that weapon will shortly be as effective based in the continental United States (and on our naval forces) as in any "advanced bases." If, on deep moral grounds, we are not prepared to act aggressively, let us retreat to our own borders, decide the boundaries, whatever they may include (our own territory and Latin America alone, or with it the islands —England, Japan, Formosa—or even the peninsula of Western Europe), that we regard as essential to the survival of the Western spirit. Standing within our boundaries, let us state that if this line is breached, we will fight with all our power. If we cannot accept the responsibility of bringing upon the world the immediacy of modern warfare, if we hope that time and Providence will somehow display a solution other than those which now starkly face us, then at least let us draw back from our shameful promises to the oppressed, from our expenditure of money and men in far-flung endeavors that have no aim and only swell the power of bureaucracy. Let us settle in our own sphere, devoting our resources to building a free life, emblazoning on our flag the old American motto of the rattlesnake flag: "Don't tread on me."

Either of these policies—aggressive attack or Fortress America—would be open-eyed, clear upon the issues, devoted to the preservation of freedom and the essential being of man. But the policy upon which we proceed today, and most of the discussion of it, indeed the very atmosphere within which all discourse upon foreign policy is conducted, is characterized by a painful shuffling, is blind to the realities that overshadow all our choices. Such blindness is a form of madness, of emotional rejection of the world as it is. And it has been written: Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad.

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Coexisting with Capone

An illuminating (if not entirely historical) story of a Liberal effort for peace, frustrated by reaction but full of meaning for the future

MILADA HORAKOVA

Around Chicago they called him "Uncle Al." True, Al Capone had been forced to liquidate many of the kulaks on the South Side. But those who understood the broad picture realized that he was directing a great social experiment.

The history of this period really started before Al Capone was born. In the neighboring state of Missouri, the political philosopher and economist, Jesse James, had awakened the social planners of the nineteenth century with his monumental work *Das Train Robbery*. James argued that a redistribution of wealth was desirable, and his theory was widely accepted. Soon it was known as "Markism" in honor of its founder—who certainly had made his mark.

As was to be expected, the wealthy classes—especially the bankers, who were a special target of James—tried to suppress Markism, and its adherents were outlawed. It was not until a half century later that Al Capone, on the South Side of Chicago, transformed Markism from a theory into an established social system. Destiny had put him in an area where revolution and counter-revolution were widespread,[1] and he took full advantage of the situation.

Shortly after his arrival in Chicago, Capone inaugurated the practice of self-criticism[2] and began a series of purges that eventually eliminated all of his rivals.

Once Capone had established Markism, Chicago was divided into two hostile camps, and an arms race began. It appeared as if a conflict was inevitable, but fortunately some dedicated humanists—led by Liberal professors at the University of Chicago—faced the problems squarely and formulated a policy to avoid it. The plan was known under various names: a "sane policy," "peaceful coexistence" and, simply, "realism." Some fanatical opponents of Markism hysterically labeled the plan "appeasement," but they were quickly identified as professional anti-Caponeists.

The coexistence argument was indisputable. The people living under Markism were certainly not worth fighting over. If they were discouraged from resisting the Capone rule, he would—eventually—mellow, provided that the atmosphere was favorable. Capone did not really want any trouble with the police, but—and here the Liberals maturely looked at the problem from Capone's point of view—he felt himself encircled by hostile powers. If they could just remove his fear of the police, agreement on a disarmament plan was possible.

The policy included an all-out fight to win over the uncommitted people in the suburbs, and high priority was given to the effort to woo independent Markists (such as John Dillinger) into taking a neutral stand.

So Near, and Yet . . .

The flag-waving anti-Capone lunatic fringe nearly destroyed the chances of negotiation by pointing out that all past promises of the Markists had been broken. Although admitting that this was true, the Liberals wisely realized that such reckless charges could only cause distrust on the part of Capone. To overcome this distrust, and to prove good faith, they stopped the supply of ammunition to the trigger-happy cops who were calling for the recapture of Capone-occupied police stations. It was explained to those who doubted the wisdom of the coexistence policy that the *people* living under Markism did not want violence. And obviously Capone was too busy building a new society to covet new territory.

It was not long before hopeful signs appeared. Groups of bad Markists were periodically discovered by Capone among his henchmen. And as each group disappeared from the scene, it was clearly apparent that they—not the Markist system—had been responsible for the excesses of the Capone empire.

Cultural exchanges benefited all as Capone distributed free booze (real stuff—from Canada) at swanky cocktail parties. His occasional drunken remarks about "kicking everybody in the face" were accepted as the good natured fun in which they were meant.

The study of ways to ease tension went on at a feverish pace. "Give and Take" became the battle-cry of all peace-lovers. On the one side, all laws aimed at stopping the infiltration of Capone gangsters into decent society were abolished by the courts. The Markists reciprocated by allowing the parents of several kidnap victims to visit them.

Under such friendly conditions it was not difficult to set up a conference between Capone and the Liberal leaders.[3] The policy of coexistence was on the verge of complete success. But fate intervened. Before they could make additional concessions in the battle for peace, some warmongers from the East captured "Uncle Al" and exiled him to an island off the California coast.

It was a cruel blow to the advocates of coexistence. They had put their hearts and souls into the policy; and they vowed to save the blueprints for future use. "The fight for peace, like the struggle for social progress, is an unending conflict," became their motto.

We may yet hear of coexistence again.

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[1] The Sox had switched from White to Black and back to White.
[2] Known among Markist theorists as "rubbing out" mistakes.
[3] Held at Pike's Peak, it was known as a Summit Meeting.

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WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The Case for Silence

Everyone is supposed to know that the younger generation is "silent" (*i.e.*, conformist, security-conscious, drab, unexciting), and along comes *The Unsilent Generation* (Rinehart $2.95) which, judging by the title and the rather confused introduction of its editor, claims to be proof to the contrary. Professor Otto Butz teaches history at Princeton University, and last spring got the idea of approaching a dozen students who struck him as "more or less ordinary Princeton seniors" to write (anonymously) essays on themselves and their view of things. Eleven of them obliged; the result is *The Unsilent Generation.*

I do not think a silent generation can be made unsilent by asking a dozen students to externalize what goes on in their minds (which after all is bound to be something); and I think a very good case can be made for urging, given some of the alternatives, the virtue of silence. Rather silence, I would vote, than this dismaying—though fascinating—book. Murray Kempton has called *The Unsilent Generation* the *Atlas Shrugged* of the Liberals; by which he means that the components of Liberalism are, in the words and thoughts of the typical contributor to this volume, taken to gruesome extreme. Mr. Francis Horn, reviewing the book for the *New York Times,* recalls an undergraduate Dartmouth song which begins "'Don't send my son to Princeton'/The dying mother said"—and predicts the ditty will climb to the Hit Parade; by which he means that the book so strikingly demonstrates the bleakness of the Princeton experience as to make Princeton education a national concern. Father Halton, the irrepressible chaplain to Catholic students at Princeton, quips that President Goheen is not likely to allow any of his daughters to go out with members of the unsilent generation; a remark that refers to the casual sexual attitudes of some of the contributors to the book. The publisher finds embodied in the slender volume the "temper, the moral attitudes, the credos, and the aspirations of young people today"; by which he means one should buy the book.

I agree that one should. It is wrong to suggest (as is being done) that examining this book, and the inner thoughts of eleven Princeton seniors, is like reading Krafft-Ebing. If one is at all resourceful, one can succeed in resisting any generalization suggested by the book that pertains to our society as a whole. Those who see in the book evidence of intellectual mediocrity would have a difficult time explaining the eleventh contributor, who is a young man of luminous intelligence, of highly developed powers of understanding and synthesizing (in his essay there is only one cliché—which deals, alas, with NATIONAL REVIEW), and to the extent Princeton was responsible for his intellectual development, gratitude is in order. Conformist? Number 7 is closer to being an anarchist (he even disapproves of government paternalism); though there are worrisome signs that he will end up more crank than individualist. Skeptical? Number 5 has not lost his religion, is a fervent Christian; number 9 believes in some sort of God. Egalitarian? Number 2 was brought up to think of himself as "a gentleman and a gentleman's son" and, in four thousand of the iciest words I have ever read, affirms his title, by the rules of natural selection, to membership in the élite—only he calls it, as one would expect in an enlightened Princeton senior, "the new liberal élite." Inarticulate? Number 6 writes with considerable skill. Frivolous? Number 9 shows precocious wisdom, a serene understanding.

Even so, the book *has* a net impact, and the seniors leave a corporate impression which is a desolate one indeed.

Higher education today emphasizes the development of the critical faculties—though to what purpose is not clear, and that it is not clear is the central revelation in Mr. Butz' experiment. Neither Princeton nor Yale nor Columbia nor UCLA would ever be caught urging a dedication of the critical faculties to an understanding, or appreciation, of a particular world view. Such a thing being, in an age of cultural relativism, unmodish; and in any case, proscribed by the rites of academic freedom. "If Benton had had an administration building with pillars," Randall Jarrell wrote in his memorable caricature of modern college education, "it could have carved over the pillars: Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you feel guilty. . . . Many a Benton girl went back to her nice home, married her rich husband—and carried a fox in her bosom for the rest of her life—and short of becoming a social worker, founding a Neo-Socialist party, and then killing herself and leaving her insurance to the United Nations, I do not know how she could have got rid of it."

What struck me most in this book was not so much the Bentonian sense of insufficiency as the related feeling of personal powerlessness, projected at every level. If God exists, one student wrote, what has that to do with me? He cannot influence me, and I cannot influence Him: "I figure I can be indifferent to an indifferent God." What can I do about the march of history, another student asks rhetorically. He can do nothing, he means us to understand; no one can; the great events of the modern world are shaped by forces that individual human beings do not influence. Great events are for bureaucracies to deal with. Political tidal waves are not stopped by the exertion of human wills. Churchill himself was not able to cope with Communism. Man's destiny is worked out on tiny roof gardens—which is one reason why the younger generation is so totally apolitical (the *Reporter,* the *Nation* and the *New Republic* are not mentioned once); why statecraft is boring, and mechanized. All of which explains why the speculation in this book is so appallingly egocentric, and why it deals with grubby little matters that seldom intimate the largeness of the human spirit.

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Locke's Minimal State

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

One of the great mysteries of the American educational system is that it has never sought to stimulate the slightest curiosity about the Englishman whose thinking provided the "party line" of the American Revolution. We know the name of John Locke; we know that he set forth certain ideas about government as the guarantor of "life, liberty and property" which were "hackneyed" up and down the colonies (John Adams' description) until Thomas Jefferson "edited" them for the Declaration of Independence. But of the man behind the *Second Treatise on Civil Government* we have long had only the most meager details.

The reason is partly due to misplaced patriotism (we prefer to take our Founding Fathers straight). But there are other factors, as Maurice Cranston's recent *John Locke: A Biography* (Macmillan, $8.00) reveals. For one thing, Locke himself was a most secretive man. He left a whole escritoire full of papers, which remained beyond the reach of scholars until the Bodleian Library of Oxford bought them some ten years ago and opened them up to researchers. The delvers into the so-called "Lovelace Collection" and other deposits of Lockeana discovered many a puzzle: Locke used a modified system of shorthand for purposes of concealment, he employed curious ciphers, he cut signatures and identifiable names from his letters, and he even used invisible ink. During his lifetime Locke had insisted on anonymity for his letters on tolerance and his treatises on government. This passion for remaining a "background" figure was still having its effect some 250 years later when Mr. Cranston finally dared the hard labor needed to dissipate the fog.

Locke is ordinarily thought of as a libertarian, an enemy of authoritarian government. How else could he have inspired the "checks and balances" of the Madisonian system? How else could he have helped fire Englishmen to insist on the supremacy of Parliament at the time of the final overthrow of the Stuart Dynasty in 1688? Recently, however, Willmoore Kendall and Bertrand de Jouvenel have pointed out that Locke's thinking contains no intellectual defenses against majoritarian tyranny. If, as Locke said, "the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest," what is there to keep 51 per cent of the population from oppressing 49 per cent in any way it may happen to see fit? Moreover, as Kendall points out, Locke's famous passion for tolerance did not include political tolerance for Roman Catholics; he was a true Whig and "Orangeman" in his fears that the Catholics of his day were engaged in a perennially renewed plot to overthrow the Protestant succession in England. He applied a Smith Act type of thinking to Catholics as we apply it to Communists.

If one is to isolate certain passages in the *Second Treatise on Civil Government* and in the Locke "letters" on tolerance, it can be argued that both Kendall and de Jouvenel have a case: "consent" of the people can result in a "majoritarian" compact which may or may not respect the "natural rights" of minorities. But as Maurice Cranston and the Victorian biographer Henry Richard Fox Bourne, who wrote the "standard" biography of Locke in 1876, both demonstrate, Locke made a clear distinction between "society" on the one hand, and the "State," on the other. Unlike Hobbes, who confused the two categories, and unlike the Greeks, who considered "society" as existing in and through the "State," Locke thought of government as something minimal. The State, he said, "is confined to the care of the things of this world, and hath nothing to do with the world to come . . . the business of laws is not to provide for the truth of opinion, but for the safety and security of the commonwealth, and of every particular man's goods and person."

True, this does not insist that "goods and person" shall be beyond the reach of a majority if the suppression of liberty may seem necessary to preserve "the safety and security of the commonwealth." But in an early essay on "tolerance," dated 1667 when Charles the Second was still on the throne, Locke argued that "the magistrate ought to do or meddle with nothing *but barely* in order to secure the civil peace and property of his subjects."

LOCKE'S IDEA of "but barely" can be surmised from his rhetorical question: "Can it be reasonable that he that cannot compel me to buy a house should force me his way to venture the purchase of heaven?" What I deduce from this rhetorical flourish is that Locke considered the State entirely "out of bounds" whenever it tried to tell a man how to earn and spend his money or how and where to worship. If he did not go on from there to formulate a full political philosophy of "unalienable" minority rights, it should be remembered that he was not a practicing political scientist. His works on tolerance and on government were "occasional" pieces, struck off at intervals during a busy life devoted to medicine, to bureaucratic offices, to the management of real estate, to shadowy love affairs, to psychological studies, and to religious meditation.

It was not until James Madison and the rest of the Founding Fathers applied Lockean principles to the

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question of the proper political architecture for a federal republic that the phrase "but barely" began to take on real form. Madison and the other Men of 1787 made their mistakes, too, notably in their failure to give a strict definition to such things as the "general welfare." But just as it would be unfair to claim that Madison was an "authoritarian" at heart because of his failure to define "natural law," so it is unfair to conclude that Locke didn't mean what he implied when he spoke of a "but barely" role for the State.

As a pioneer psychologist who considered that all ideas derive from sensory impressions, Locke seems to me to contradict himself. He set up shop as an early psychological opponent of "innate ideas," yet at the same time he insisted that moral principles were as "demonstrable" as axioms in geometry. With Locke as with Jefferson, moral principles were "self-evident." But if human morals are "self-evident," it must be postulated that there is a predisposition in the mind to see them as such. Something inside the human organism makes a moral idea "right." The Lockean attack on "innate ideas," then, is a mere verbal quibble.

Indeed, if there are rights that are "unalienable," they must be "innate" as ideas. Man's feeling that his own life is sacred does not depend on any "sensory impression"; it is as much a part of his organism as blood pressure, and it comes from within, not from without. Locke's political philosophy is totally at variance with his "utilitarian" and "empirical" psychology. He thought he was a "modern"; but as a political theorist, he joined hands with the ancient philosophers of the "natural law." He was far closer to the medieval scholastics than he knew—and he would have been horrified if he could have foreseen what twentieth century psychological "empiricists" would do to the political philosophy of "natural rights."

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Can Anything New Be Said?

J. P. McFADDEN

The Civil War centennial years will soon be upon us, bringing countless "new" books on that greatest of fratricidal struggles. Already publishers are busily adding to the more than 30,000 titles in print. The question arises, therefore, Can anything new be said? Can battles and issues fought and refought for a century be viewed now from fresh vantage points?

Whether or not it is possible, it is not being done. In reading half a dozen of the most recent offerings, this reviewer found little in the way of excitement and even less in the way of new interpretations of the facts which, after all, have long since been set down by the actors themselves. The best book by far is not new, but a reissue of Major-General J. F. C. Fuller's classic *Grant and Lee* (Indiana, $5.00). England's Fuller, probably the greatest living military historian, has seen fit to do no more than include a new foreword stating that, in the quarter century since the book first appeared, he has not altered his judgment. And perhaps as an indication of how little serious study is behind the millions of words written on the Civil War, Fuller's judgment is today as refreshingly unusual as it ever was.

He blows away the misty halo we have given Lee, not because it was undeserved, but precisely because it was deserved—and should not have been. Lee's refusal to treat war as hell made him, Fuller argues, much more the butcher than Grant, who got the reputation for it. Lee, the gentleman, who would inspect only clean camp sites because dirty ones made him ill—this Lee allowed his subordinates unbelievable freedom of blunder simply because he could not bring himself to be so vulgar as to issue precise orders and demand their execution. More, Lee willingly—insistently—played humble servant to a government that he knew to be incapable of achieving victory. He fought not so much for the Confederacy or against the Union as for Virginia.

Had Lee been equal to the reputation we have awarded him, Fuller concludes, he would have done what the situation required of him: he would have assumed position and exerted influence as only he could have, and not have done just those things his tender conscience let him do.

Grant, on the other hand, had that single-minded determination to win that is the common bond of all great military leaders. And as Supreme Commander, he could resort to Grand Strategy, an opportunity Lee denied himself. Grant's choice—to hold Lee while Sherman crushed the South's will and ability to resist—was certainly adequate, if not perfect. Never Lee's equal in tactics, Grant doggedly carried out whatever operations were necessary to his strategy. Lee was both unable and unwilling to reply in kind, so that, from the day Grant assumed command, it was but a matter of time before the foundering Confederacy sank.

Is this a true picture? Fuller makes a strong case for it, and who has refuted him? Refutation would demand a full study of the war as it was fought, to be set against a conception of the true principles and purposes of war itself. Fuller has set his principles, and made his study. But American writers usually find it easier and more profitable to reglorify the heroes and refight the battles. Sometimes they do it well, sometimes not, but always they trudge over well-worn literary battlefields.

One of the better such tours seems to be Richard S. West's *Mr. Lincoln's Navy* (Longmans, $6.50), which has the advantage of covering the least-

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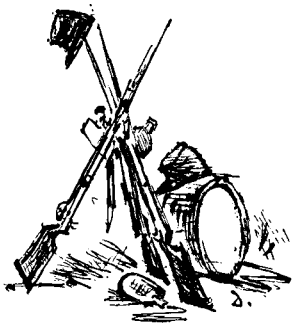
known aspect of the war. Resisting the temptation, to which one author recently succumbed, to look at the makeshift Union Navy with jaundiced, post-Inchon eyes, Mr. West admirably sketches the conditions which produced that trial-and-error fleet. It is gratifying to see that West, who is a professor of history at the Naval Academy, has not only done his homework well, but has made readable and even dramatic use of it.



There are also many good things to be found in *Drama on the Rappahannock: The Fredericksburg Campaign,* by Edward J. Stackpole (Military Service Publishing Co., $4.75). The good things are extremely plentiful maps and pictures, which should be a collector's delight. But the writing and handling of the material is not in any way outstanding. It is interesting because the whole record of Burnside's bloody incompetence, and the heroism of the Federal troops gallantly storming impregnable positions, is *per se* tragic drama. Mr. Stackpole's attempt to appraise the battle from military theory is as superficial as it is anti-climactic.

ANOTHER "natural" story is *Eight Hours Before Richmond,* by Virgil Carrington Jones (Henry Holt, $3.50), which is somewhat more effectively handled. Kilpatrick's famous attempt to raid Richmond and free Federal prisoners held there comes alive, all right, and, from its bold conception to nerve-faltering abortion, it is indeed a lively tale. But Mr. Jones rather spoils it by spending too much time trying to prove that young (only 21) Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, an admiral's son and Kilpatrick's dashing second-in-command, really intended to sack Richmond and slaughter the Confederate government. As far as one can tell, he probably did, but not at the request of the Federal government. And there are, easily, enough Civil War horrors which actually did happen to take the interest out of mere intended ones.

One such horror was surely Andersonville, and since MacKinlay Kantor's best-selling novel of two years ago, it is undoubtedly the best known. Now one of Kantor's main sources, a survivor's account which appeared some fifteen years after the war, has been re-edited and reissued. *This Was Andersonville,* by John McElroy, edited with an introduction by Roy Meredith (McDowell, Obolensky, $12.50), is most certainly impressive in every way—content, size and price. McElroy was a journalist, and his reporter's account catalogues all the horror in finely-felt gruesomeness. Perhaps too much so, for halfway through this huge volume the reader begins to *smell* Andersonville. But for anyone who liked Kantor's fictionalized story, this one should prove as good or better.

A picture book is always difficult to assess. One likes them or does not, as a matter of taste. *Mr. Lincoln's Washington,* by Stanley Kimmel (Coward-McCann, $7.50), is rather loose-jointed and weak in the text, but the illustrations are usually good and certainly various.

So there it is. Good books, bad books, fair books. Nowhere on the horizon is there a complete history of the war comparable to Douglas Southall Freeman's treatment of Lee, nor more military studies like Fuller's. Perhaps we can hope for such things to appear before the centennial activity is over. We can at least expect that the best memoirs, etc., will be reissued. But we must fear the obvious: that someone will shortly contrive to see in the Civil War a question-and-answer opus dealing with the great constitutional and social problems the war failed to settle, and which plague us today. The Establishment can scarcely miss such an opportunity to show us the "true lessons" of the war.

Should any Americans be around at the Civil War *bicentennial,* they may be under the impression that Little Rock, not Gettysburg, was the turning point. Perhaps it was.

Theater

Dore Schary's F.D.R.

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Sunrise at Campobello is a very successful play, and why shouldn't it be? Dore Schary has demonstrated his skills before, and it was always clear that he is too sophisticated a man to lard a Broadway production with some of the stuff that pays off in Hollywood. As for the fight Franklin Roosevelt waged and won upon being struck down by polio, it is, in historical context particularly, the raw meat of drama. What one could not reasonably have counted on is the extraordinary performance of Ralph Bellamy. On first seeing him—dressed in the swimming suit of the twenties, wrestling with his children after the fatal afternoon's swim in the frigid waters of New Brunswick—one is conscious that there is indeed a resemblance there but (thank Heaven) no cosmetic effort to exactly reproduce the original. But so convincing is his performance that very soon one loses sight of any facial dissimilarities, and if on leaving the theater I had seen a picture of the old rascal himself, I'd have thought it an unsuccessful effort to imitate Bellamy's imitation of F.D.R. In Mr. Bellamy's portrayal, there is genuine artistry, so far as I can perceive.

The drama is livened, in fact made bearable, by the omnipresence of Roosevelt's devoted political steward, Louis Howe. Howe is wittier here, in his exchanges with Roosevelt, than I think history remembers him to have been, but the license is dramatically justified. Sara Roosevelt is overbearing, snobbish, devoted—and kind. Eleanor Roosevelt grows before one's very eyes (the play covers a three-year span from the day of the affliction to the day F.D.R. put Alfred Smith in nomination for the Presidency) almost as Nathan's Jennie did. She begins as the loving, shy, apolitical household accessory, and emerges a loving, mildly assertive, intensely

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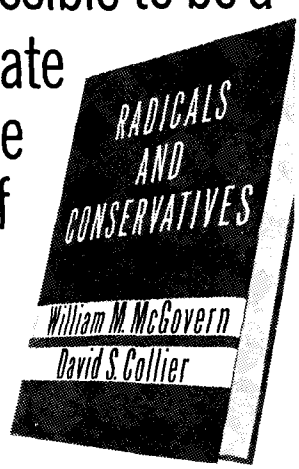
political wife and companion. (There is a scene where she goes out to give her very first public speech, during which I was reminded of a recent cartoon that pictured our first spaceman, freshly arrived on the moon, rushing toward a naked couple about to eat an apple, yelling Stop! Stop!) Mrs. Roosevelt is rumored not to like the play. I cannot understand why. The portrayal does her a world of good.

The taste is unexceptionable. In struggling with his braces, Roosevelt falls only once. Eleanor Roosevelt breaks out crying only once—and then promises not to do it again. Sara Roosevelt is overbearingly overbearing just once, and Roosevelt shouts at her only that time. The boys are completely normal and are not permitted to dream onstage of great days that lie ahead, of politics, or glory, or harem-keeping. Missy LeHand is a lovely and devoted secretary, intensely caught up in the drama of her boss' struggle. Al Smith is as I suppose he was, gay, competent, colorful, ambitious.

Politically the play is, again, virtually unexceptionable. One can legitimately object that its success is not exclusively due to the drama one witnesses, depending as it does for its final impact on external knowledge of the tremendous career toward which the protagonist is headed. That dramatic assist, turned over free of charge to Mr. Schary by history, is vital to the excitement of the play, and more or less imposes a political tendentiousness on the evening. But Mr. Schary does his honorable best not to take partisan advantage. Beyond a few vague references to the hero's "progressivism," "romantic ideals" and "dedication," there are no politics in *Sunrise at Campobello.* I do not think, to be sure, that the Roosevelt pictured in the play is a very well-rounded picture of the man who subsequently beset us, but historians will not turn to Schary to understand the man—even though sculptors quite possibly will turn to Mr. Bellamy to etch out the lines on Franklin Roosevelt's face.

is it possible to be a moderate in these days of



By William M. McGovern, Northwestern University

David S. Collier, Foundation for Foreign Affairs

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

EXILE AND THE KINGDOM, by Albert Camus (Knopf, $3.50). Half a dozen parable-tales about Camus' favorite character, Modern Man, a fellow who seems to have gone outside himself one day and come back to find the door inexplicably locked, since when he has bravely insisted that although he knows the Kingdom of Heaven is inside, he can't find his key. Camus writes a trim, unfussy prose, which translates well, and his own sincerity is unquestionable. But I sometimes wonder if even his best works (*The Fall, The Myth of Sisyphus*) aren't going to look like no more than period pieces of "Twentieth-Century Blues" in a few decades. For his honest, but somewhat jejune preoccupation with Man's spiritual exile may seem no more than attitudinous to people who have discovered that getting inside oneself, believing in God, and behaving accordingly, are not easy, but on the other hand, are no harder today than they ever were. R. BECKET

THE RISE OF KHRUSHCHEV, by Myron Rush (Public Affairs, $3.25). By patient textual analysis, Mr. Rush shows how the most exquisite verbal modulations are made to express vast displacements in the structure of Soviet power. Tracing Khrushchev's ascent by inspecting Soviet documents and speeches, Rush describes the realities reflected when Khrushchev's title of "First secretary" of the Communist Party painfully acquires, not two, but *one* capital letter; and so forth. The situation at first seems preposterous: one pictures an arena full of ape-like gladiators, armed with *cesta,* circling each other, seeking occasion to land blows of annihilation; outside, observers report the results to the curious public through enigmatic words, written in sand with the tip of a feather. Reflection suggests, however, that the method is fitting for men whose disease originated in a sickness of words, and who corrupt language that they may corrupt men. C. LOGAN

WHERE THE SOIL WAS SHALLOW, by José María Gironella (Regnery, $4.95). "Many are called, but few are chosen," and it is this latter minority whom fairy tales, hagiographers and poets have chronicled through the centuries. The story of the former—the man who hears a call within himself, struggles to incarnate it, and then fails—has been relatively overlooked. It is his pattern, no less human and maybe equally useful to study, which José Gironella's new novel (actually his first, written before *The Cypresses Believe in God*) explores. His hero, at eighteen, enters a Jesuit seminary, presently leaves, and then for a number of baffled years drifts from one country to another, nervously seeking a form of committal which will adequately define the impulse, the thrust, he once felt at his center. He sells books, performs in a circus, loves and loses, and finally settles down as an unsingular citizen—no longer chafed, yet always a little nostalgic for the compulsion that once, inexplicably, touched his soul. R. PHELPS

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To the Editor

Coaxing the Soviets

I have just returned from Moscow, where Mr. Khrushchev has made an historical offer to the West. The Soviets agree to use outer space solely for peaceful purposes, in return for United States renunciation of overseas military bases. At last the first real breakthrough on the Peace Front!

We must act quickly to show our good faith by accepting the Russian offer. Who knows but that, our advanced military positions once vacated, Khrushchev may not make further concessions? The next step which I foresee is that he will guarantee United Nations inspection of all moon bases, in return for internationalization of Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal.

If Liberal elements in this country prevail, bringing about whole-hearted, imaginative efforts toward peace, the Communists may, in the not too distant future, require nothing more extreme than integration of the United States into the Soviet Union (with, of course, equal rights), in return for giving Americans and descendants clear and perpetual title to Mars, Venus, Saturn and the Life to Come.

Let us pray that reactionary elements will not once more have their way, to frustrate this new hope of men of Peace around the world!

Los Angeles, Cal. RICHARD DE MILLE

Undiscovered Art

I would like to congratulate you on the article "Disorder at the Whitney" by Geoffrey Wagner [February 22]. It is high time that someone spoke the truth on the nonsense that the critics call Art.

As you may know, the public press and all the art magazines, with the exception of one, the *American Artist,* are in the hands of publishers and critics who are nothing more than propagandists for this art of destruction. This modern so-called art is a weapon in the hands of those who would destroy every facet of all the fine traditions in the arts, as well as in every other walk of American life. These works are often called destructions by their creators.

There is a great deal of fine painting and sculpture being constantly created in this country, that the public never gets to hear of because of this complete control in the public press and magazines by persons whose sole aim is to have the public believe that at present this is the only kind of art being produced in this country.

New York City DONALD DELUE

The Southern Issue

I enjoyed reading the four articles on the South in your latest issue [March 8]. Congratulations on getting these to us from as good sources as you have. Mr. Kilpatrick has been outstanding in presenting the side of the South and of all others who resent statist restrictions.

South Miami, Fla. HAROLD W. DORN

Query

Would you say that Priscilla Buckley's article, "Now You Don't See It" [February 22] indicates that advertising in the U.S. is moving from the ridiculous to the subliminal?

New York City BARBARA NEWMAN

Education in the Colonies

In "The Americas: A Fable in Reverse" [February 15], Mr. Carter makes his point cleverly and effectively, but he does not tell the entire story. There are other important reasons for our rapid increase in material wealth, [among them] our educational system. The leaders among the early settlers believed in education. Harvard College was founded in 1636, only sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims. Other colleges and numerous academies were founded prior to the Revolutionary War. The free public school developed earlier and more rapidly in the American colonies than in European countries.

Five states established State Universities prior to 1821. The Land Grant College Act of 1862 and the Hatch Act of 1887 provide evidence of the interest of the public in education. No small part of our material growth is a direct result of our progress in science and invention that would not have been possible without public interest in education. . . .

Lincoln, Neb. H. C. FILLEY

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What is Multiple Sclerosis?

Here are twenty clues to the grim mystery that afflicts 500,000 Americans

1. Multiple Sclerosis is a chronic, crippling disease of the central nervous system.

2. Multiple Sclerosis is almost entirely a disease of young adults, striking down young men and women between the ages of 20 and 40.

3. The words *Multiple Sclerosis* mean "many scars." The central nervous system is protected by tissue called the myelin sheath. Multiple Sclerosis is the progressive disintegration of this sheath. As it disintegrates, scars form on the sheath causing loss of control in that part of the body affected by the scarred area.

4. The symptoms of Multiple Sclerosis are blurred vision; tremors; staggering or stumbling gait; impairment of hearing; speech difficulties; loss of bowel or bladder control; extreme weakness; numbness; partial or complete paralysis.

5. The first man to write an account of this mysterious disease was Sir Augustus Frederick d'Este, a cousin of Queen Victoria, in 1835.

6. Multiple Sclerosis is not a contagious disease.

7. All symptoms are not necessarily present in all patients.

8. The cause of Multiple Sclerosis is unknown. Tests of various theories are now being conducted in many research centers.

9. Multiple Sclerosis, once contracted, is usually permanent. However, a good many patients have remission periods when symptoms cease.

10. There are 38 clinics in the United States which either are supported by the Multiple Sclerosis Society or are particularly interested in the disease.

11. There is no known treatment which will halt or control Multiple Sclerosis but in many cases its symptoms can be managed. Physical therapy, for example, is often helpful.

12. The National Multiple Sclerosis Society was founded in 1946 to support research seeking to find the cause and cure of the disease. The Society also informs the public about the disease and, through its chapters, provides direct help for patients of Multiple Sclerosis.

13. What may have been a crucial break-through in the research battle against Multiple Sclerosis occurred at the end of 1957. A young researcher at the Washington University School of Medicine discovered that the site of disabling Multiple Sclerosis is a structure called the glial cell. This is the first major piece of knowledge about Multiple Sclerosis discovered in the past 100 years.

14. The 1958 budget of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society is $3,500,000 —most of which will be used to further research.

15. The National Multiple Sclerosis Society supports a Fellowship and Scholarship Program to further basic research among young scientists in scientific areas related to the disease.

16. All funds for Multiple Sclerosis are raised by independent citizens.

17. Information about Multiple Sclerosis and the fight against it may be gotten from the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., or by simply writing MS, c/o your local postmaster.

18. Multiple Sclerosis is more frequently observed in the temperate zone than in warm countries.

19. Over 50 separate research projects into the nature of Multiple Sclerosis are now under way.

20. If you are interested in helping to wage war on this crippling and unhappy disease, send in the coupon on the right with your contribution. Thank you for your generosity and for your time and attention to the grim story of Multiple Sclerosis, the mystery disease.

National Multiple Sclerosis Society
257 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: Enclosed please find my contribution to the battle against Multiple Sclerosis.

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